

# KOREA LINK

Number One  
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COMMITTEE FOR THE SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH KOREA  
c/o P.O. Box 1001 Palo Alto, CA 94302

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This KOREA LINK is the first issue of a bimonthly newsletter on South Korea. Our purpose is to encourage local community actions that promote the struggle for human rights and economic justice in South Korea and protect U.S. communities and workers from the runaway habits of U.S.-based multinational corporations.

Over two thirds of South Korea's exports and imports are with the United States and Japan. Despite the astronomical growth in trade, Korean workers' wages and working conditions remain abysmally low. Within the past decade hundreds of thousands of U.S. factory workers have lost their jobs and many cities have lost their industrial tax base as American-owned corporations moved their manufacturing operations to cheap labor, cheap tax havens of dictator-ruled countries like South Korea and Taiwan.

Under "Generalissimo" Chung Hee Park, the Korean CIA is much stronger than the country's legislature—the National Assembly; and torture is frequently used to "convince" political opponents. The people of South Korea have been courageously demanding the restoration of a democratic constitution and the protection of human rights. While it is true that only Koreans can bring about such change, it is also true

that many U.S. military and economic "aid" programs prop up the Park regime. Americans can force reductions and changes in U.S. "aid" programs and corporate investment.

The lopsided development of South Korea into an export platform, from which U.S. and Japanese corporations produce consumer goods for the developed countries, has created widespread unemployment among blue collar workers in the U.S. and the gradual disappearance of manufacturing industry from the U.S. economy. KOREA LINK will explore the largely unexamined connection between South Korean policy of "industrial genocide" and U.S. structural unemployment, and promote and publicize community-labor actions that seek to counter this trend.

This issue of KOREA LINK has been edited by Ken Kilimnik, a Fellow of Action for World Community, with contributions from Nicola Geiger, peace activist and the Institute on the Church in Urban-Industrial Society. (Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.) The financial assistance from Action for World Community, a Washington, D.C.-based project center, made this newsletter possible and is gratefully acknowledged.

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## LETTER FROM NICOLA GEIGER

My dear friends,

My five month journey on behalf of those who are silenced in the prisons of South Korea has come to an end. I have been travelling all over the United States and Canada—on foot, bus, car, plane, train—I almost feel like saying by horse and donkey-cart, though that is not true. But it certainly feels that way!

I've spoken at church assemblies, universities, political meetings, on radio, TV, and with journalists. These many, many and extremely varied contacts have been most heart-warming.

I am on my way back to Japan but will return in June. So many of you have asked me to come back again. I wish I could come see each of you again. Since I cannot, I would like to continue the dialogue and sharing which we have begun. Together with dear and devoted friends, I have ventured to begin a newsletter to be published bimonthly in which we will continue to explore the relationship of Korea and America.

As we get more deeply involved in the celebration and consideration of the bicentennial anniversary of the American Revolution, perhaps we can be more open to the situation of the people in many parts of the world—my own focus being

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## COMMUNITY ACTIONS FOR SOUTH KOREA

Here are a variety of community actions on South Korea that should give you an idea of what to do and how to do it. Please send us copies of any letters or newspaper clippings on community actions in support of human rights in South Korea so that we may follow up on them and inform people in South Korea of our actions in solidarity. These are our suggestions:

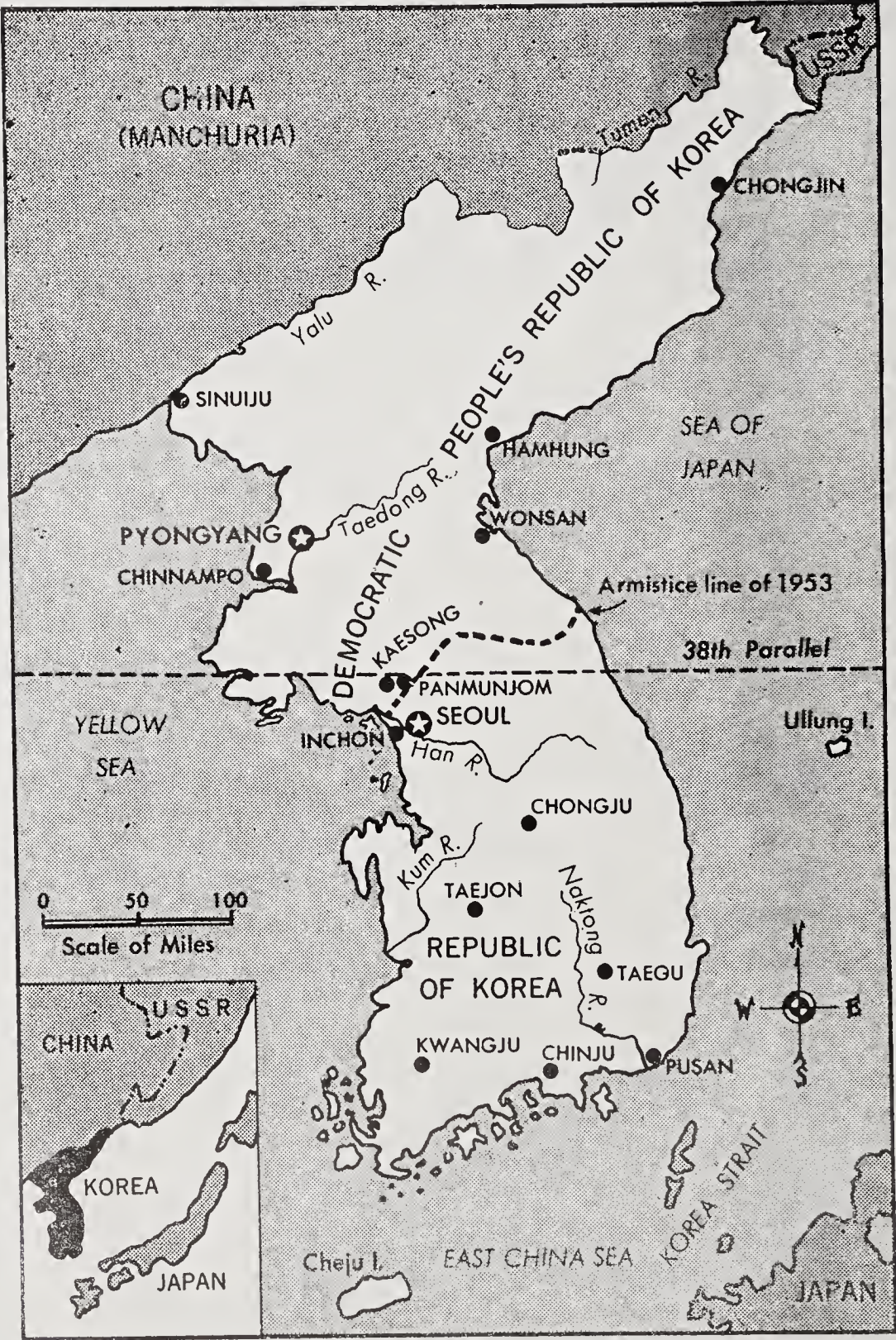
I. Write your congresspersons (Senators and Representative) or a member of one of the foreign affairs committees listed below. Ask them how and why she/he voted on the amendments last year to reduce U.S. military and economic aid to South Korea. Urge them to vote for a reduction in aid this year in view of the continuing political repression.

In the Senate write to a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Address your letter (Name of Senator) United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. The members are: John Sparkman, Chairman (Ala.), Mike Mansfield (Mt.), Frank Church (Idaho), Stuart Symington (Mo.), Pell (R.I.), Gale W. McGee (Wy.), George McGovern (N.D.), Hubert Humphrey (Minn.), Dick Clark (Io.), Joseph Biden, Jr. (Del.), Clifford P. Case (N.J.), Jacob Javits (N.Y.).

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# KOREA





# LETTER

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on Korea—who suffer under American domination what Americans once suffered under British dominance.

I had to come and share my insights into that unpredictable part of the world: South Korea, crying out for justice. To the extent that we can relive creatively our own past, let us also become alive to the identical struggle in which our brothers and sisters are involved right now.

I thank you for listening and for your support. My heart is filled with appreciation—for all you shared with me. As the Indian chief Seattle said,

"This we know. The earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth. This we know. All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. All things are connected."

I greet you warmly and deeply.  
Nicola Geiger (S)

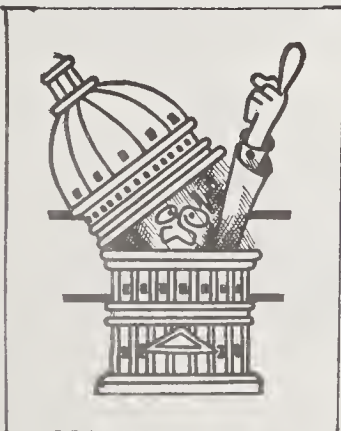
# COMMUNITY ACTIONS

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Hugh Scott (Penna.), James Pearson (Kan.), Charles Percy (Ill.), Robert Griffin (Mi), and Howard Baker, Jr. (Tenn.).

In the House of Representatives write to a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Address the letter (name of representative) U.S. House of Representatives, (Washington, D.C. 20515. The members are: Thomas Morgan (Pa.), chairman, Clement Zablocki (Wi), Wayne Hays (Oh.), L.H. Fountain (N.C.), Dante Fascell (Fla.), Charles Diggs, Jr. (Mi.), Robert C. Nix (Penna.), Donald Fraser (Minn.), Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.), Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.), Lester Wolff (N.Y.), Johnathan Bingham (N.Y.), Gus Yatron (Pa.), Roy Taylor (N.C.), Michael Harrington (Mass.), Leo Ryan (Cal.), Charles Wilson (Texas), Donald Riegle, Jr. (Mich.), Don Bonker (Wash.), Gardiss Collins (Ill.), Helen S. Meyner (N.J.), Stephen Solarz (N.Y.), William S. Broomfield, ranking Republican member (Mich.), Edward Derwinski (Ill.), Paul Findley (Ill.), John Buchanan (Ala.), J. Herbert Burke (Fla.), Pierre S. DuPont (Del.), Charles Whalen, Jr. (Ohio), Edward Biester, Jr. (Pa.), Larry Winn, Jr. (Kan.), Benjamin Gilman (N.Y.), Tennyson Guyer (Ohio), Robert Lagomarsino (Cal.).

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ii. SEND AN ADVERTISEMENT OF ENCOURAGEMENT to the *Dong A Ilbo*. The *Dong A Ilbo* is the largest circulation daily newspaper in South Korea (600,000). The government is currently engaged in a vicious campaign to force the termination of all ads and bankrupt the newspaper. It is the only daily voice left in South Korea which faithfully prints the actions and sentiments of the large and growing opposition to the dictatorial regime. At its present rate of income, the *Dong A Ilbo* will be bankrupt in 2-3 months. Its death would deal a major blow to the Korean groups advocating a return to democracy, because it is the only communication link which allows the average Korean to learn of anything outside of the government propaganda. If the *Dong A Ilbo* can stay alive during the next 2-3 crucial months, it is expected that the government will abandon its campaign against the newspaper.

Therefore, others must help in this time of dire need. You can send an ad of encouragement to the *Dong A Ilbo* directly—collect any amount of money and send it by check to the *Dong A Ilbo*, 139 Saechung-ro, Chong-ro Ku, Seoul 110 Korea. Request an advertisement and give the wording which you want to see printed. Sign it with the name of your organization, the names of individuals, or anonymously.

Or join efforts with others for a series of \$500 ads at \$10 per signature. Send \$10 or more to ICUIS, Attn: Church Committee on Human Rights in Asia, 800 W. Belden Ave., Chicago, Ill 60614, and specify its use for an ad in the *Dong A Ilbo*. Enclose individual name or group name to be used in the ad or specify if you prefer to remain anonymous.

Koreans have courageously placed ads like the following: "I hope that this money will act as a drop of oil for the torch of the *Dong A Ilbo*".

i condemn all those who withdrew their ads, and all silent people". "Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness" . . . Isaiah 5:20

III. INITIATE A LOCAL BOYCOTT of imported Korean clothing. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America state that one half of all imported men's clothing comes from South Korea.

The clothing industry in Korea—largely Korean and Japanese owned, though with some large U.S. investors—pays lower wages and enforces longer working hours than almost any other industry. Korean workers have not received any of the profits from increased export production. Meanwhile, in the U.S., employment in the garment trades has plummeted.

Labor unions in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland and Baltimore have cooperated with church groups in sponsoring demonstration linking political repression to sweatshops and runaway industries and the loss of domestic manufacturing jobs.

Here's how you can initiate a local boycott campaign:

1. Ask department and clothing stores, clothing distributors and importers if they sell imported Korean clothing. 2. If they do, investigate the working conditions and wage levels of the industry generally and the ownership of the manufacturing company. (To find out if a specific company in Korea is foreign-owned, write the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce, Korea Desk, 14th and Constitution Ave., Rm. 5031, Washington, D.C. 20230.

For a good description of working conditions in the garment industry, write for a free reprint of a series of articles on foreign aid from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 400 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 19130. Ask for "Foreign Aid: The Flawed Dream" by Donald Bartlett and James Steele.)

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3. Request local stores and companies not to handle imported Korean clothing. If they refuse, meet with the owners and talk to the employees. A demonstration—a leafleting or picketing exercise—are effective methods to bring publicity and pressure to bear. If there is a local joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, be sure to contact them.

Such a campaign should make it clear that the boycott is not against foreign imports, but against runaway companies' sweatshops, and the anti-labor and political repression required to "convince" the workers not to protest.

IV. INITIATE A LOCAL BOYCOTT of U.S. electronic companies with 100% export manufacturing operations in South Korea. The electronics industry, like the clothing industry, is very labor-intensive and produces goods primarily for export to the developed countries. Over one fifth of all U.S. investment is in the electronics sector—the largest amount in any one industry.

These are the largest U.S. electronic companies with operations in South Korea and their corporate headquarters:

Motorola, Inc. / 5727 N. East River Rd., Chicago, Ill. 60631  
Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp. / 464 Ellis St.,

Mountain View, CA 94040

Control Data Corp. / 8100 34th Avenue, S., Minneapolis, Minn. 55440

Corning Glass Works / (subsidiary—Signetics Korea Co.)  
Houghton Park, Corning, N.Y. 14830

Oak Industries / Chrystal Lake, Ill. 60014

American Microsystems / 3800 Homestead Rd., Santa Clara, CA 95051

Tandy Corp. / 2727 W. 7th Street, Ft. Worth, TX 76107

Midtex Inc. / 838 Baker Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn. 55402

Applied Magnetics / 75 Robin Hill Rd., Goleta, CA 93017

Find out what consumer products are sold by the targeted company. Get local community groups, churches and labor unions to endorse the boycott.

V. WRITE THE LARGEST U.S. INVESTORS in South Korea for information on their employee practices (wages, number and sex of workers), working conditions and tax payments to South Korea and the U.S. Request a meeting with management to express concern that labor policy not be repressive.

A coalition of religious groups recently met with Control Data Corporation officials in New York City and announced their intention to file a stockholders' resolution to force the company to reveal information about its Korean subsidiary. It appears that Control Data will voluntarily furnish the requested information.

See page 9 for a list of the largest U.S. investors in South Korea.

VI. WRITE OR TELEGRAM PRESIDENT PARK (The Blue House, Seoul, South Korea) and President Ford (The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500) urging the release of remaining political prisoners, a full amnesty for those prisoners recently released, the re-establishment of a democratic constitution and a halt to the use of torture. If you wish, we will send the telegram in your name. Send the Committee for the Support of Human Rights in South Korea \$4 for a telegram to the Blue House (18 words or less; \$.17 each additional word) or \$2 for a mailgram to the White House (100 words or less) with the wording you want. —continued

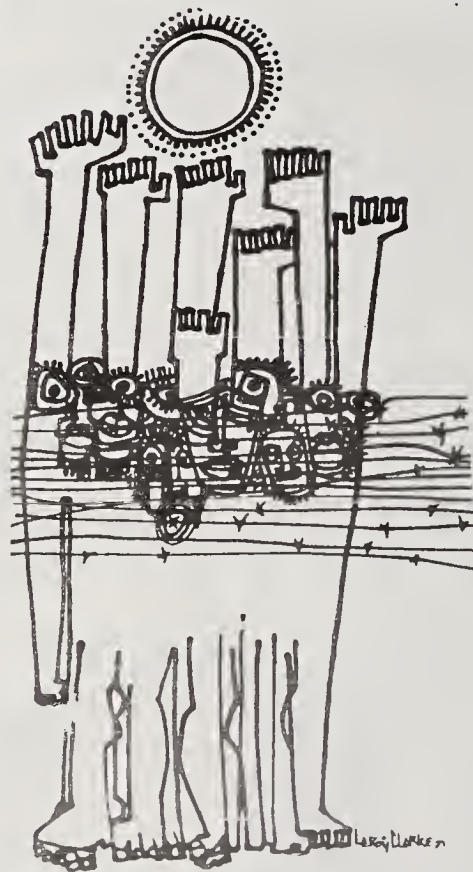
VII. WRITE THE WORLD BANK, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433 for information on loans to South Korea and ask why so much priority has been given to tourism development and highway construction when so many people are poor. (See article on the economy, page 9 for a list of the most recent loans.)

VIII. WRITE YOUR CONGRESSPEOPLE or the members of the foreign affairs committees (see action No. 1 for a list of members) to ask for legislation that would regulate the operations of multinational corporations. Such legislation would include—job training assistance for laid-off workers, a halt to runaway shops, closer checks by the U.S. Government on transfer pricing between subsidiaries of the same corporation so that a fair market value is given, minimum wage levels for U.S. based corporations' overseas plants, and eliminating existing tax giveaways that make it more profitable to build abroad than at home.

Increasing foreign trade is of no value to underdeveloped countries if most of the population derives no benefit from it. In your letter, point out the connection between unemployment in the U.S. and runaway shops in politically repressive countries.

Another Congressperson to write to on this subject, who is not on the Foreign Relations Committee, is Senator Alan Cranston (Calif.) United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

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IX. WRITE TO THE PRINCIPAL U.S. BANKS involved in a 100-bank, 3-continent wide consortium loan of \$200 million to the South Korean Government. Express concern that the bank is loaning money to a repressive government which is following policies detrimental to the Korean people and to the American worker. Request that the bank withdraw from participation in the loan.

The U.S. banks involved include: Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank, Morgan Guaranty Bank, Bank of America, Midland Bank, Chemical Bank, Crocker National Bank, First National Bank of Chicago, Bankers Trust Co. of New York. Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America and First National City Bank are the largest lenders, with each pledging \$25 million.



LNS/epf

## The Masan Free Export Zone

KOREA

*invites foreign investment  
and entrepreneurship*



THE INDUSTRIAL ESTATES  
ADMINISTRATION

# REPRESSION & DICTATORSHIP

**PARK'S DICTATORSHIP.** If South Koreans knew what a storm of protest has been stirred up in the U.S. over domestic intelligence gathering by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, they couldn't help but laugh. The South Korean CIA, patterned and trained after their American counterparts, operates as an all-powerful secret police force—following, arresting and torturing thousands of Koreans because they criticize the President, Chung Hee Park, now in his 14th year of office.

In the past six years, there has been considerable protest over political freedom and economic conditions. Protest has come from many types of people: students and teachers; Christian ministers, congregations and church youth; the chief opposition political party (New Democratic); the press; workers; and slum-dwellers. In response, Park has imposed martial law, changed the constitution and ordered mass arrests, torture and imprisonment—all the while consolidating his power. Park has created "provocations" from North

Korea to divert attention to external "threats" and to rationalize further domestic repression.

The roots of dictatorship and protest stem from the shape of Korean economic development. A few financial oligarchs, in alliance with the military, completely monopolize the Korean economy. "For their benefit," Korean workers are sold to U.S. and Japanese multinational corporations; farms are emptied and urban slums filled to provide cheap, plentiful labor in the factories; and the Korean economy becomes mainly an "export platform" for consumer goods bound for the U.S. and Japan. Strict anti-labor laws, wages that are among the lowest in the world and sweatshop working conditions make up Korea's course of "industrial genocide."

Foreign rule is not new for South Korea. From 1910-45, Japan administered Korea a colony. Use of the Korean language was forbidden and the economy was geared solely for Japan's benefit. Koreans fought a 2 year guerrilla struggle

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before succumbing to the Japanese. In 1919, 33 Korean religious leaders issued a Declaration of Independence in Seoul which inspired the independence movement—and arrests, torture and village-burning by the rulers. During World War II, million of Koreans were shipped to Japan as forced laborers and drafted into the Japanese Army. The end of the war resulted in the “temporary” division of Korea at the 38th Parallel into a Russian and American controlled zone. Regardless of who started the 1951-53 Korean War, the death of 2 million civilians, 800,000 Korean soldiers (on both sides) and 33,000 U.S. soldiers resolved nothing. North and South developed separately with frequent military incursions by both sides.

Large street demonstrations in 1960 overthrew the autocratic regime of Syngman Rhee. A civilian government, with Yon Po Sun as President, lasted only 9 months before a military junta, usurped power. The junta arrested 2,000 politicians, planned over 55,000 court martials, created the Korean CIA (KCIA) and extorted \$37 million from leading businessmen. In the face of protests over military rule, Park scheduled elections for 1963. Park won by a narrow margin over Yon Po Sun. Four years later, Park again defeated Sun.

The Korean constitution allowed a President to serve only 2 terms. This didn't deter Park. In 1969, his Democratic Republican Party met secretly in an annex of the National Assembly late at night and amended the Constitution to allow Park to run again in 1971. Park received 49% of the vote in 1971, compared to 46% for Kim Dae Jung. During the campaign, Kim was badly injured in a suspicious crash when a truck hit his campaign entourage, drove his car off the road, smashed his hip and killed 3 people. In the 1971 elections, the opposition New Democratic Party took 89 of 204 seats in the National Assembly, blocking Park from further arbitrary Constitutional changes.

Eight months later, Park declared martial law and his party held another secret 3 minute session in the middle of the night acting as a National Assembly and ratifying Park's moves. Opposition party members were in the midst of a 5 day sit in at the main National Assembly hall and rushed over when they realized what was happening, but 300 police prevented them from entering. The martial law was later lifted.

In October 1972, Park resumed martial law, dissolved the National Assembly temporarily, changed the Constitution, closed all colleges and placed a KCIA man in each newspaper office, radio and TV station. This “October Revitalization” or “Yushin Constitution” was a further extension of Park's power.

A referendum on the new constitution was held in 6 weeks. Park did everything he could to insure overwhelming approval—debate was forbidden; the ballot was printed using Chinese characters, making it difficult for the general public to understand it; and the vote was indicated by tearing the ballot in half, which insured that the pieces could be matched to see who voted “no”. The “Yushin Constitution” received 91% voter approval.

The “Yushin Constitution” ended popular election of the president and allowed an unlimited number of 6 year terms. The President was to be elected by a National Conference for Unification—of which he was automatically chairman. The President is allowed to dissolve the National Assembly, and declare emergency measures which “temporarily suspend the rights and freedom of the people”. One third of the National Assembly is now nominated by the President. The National Assembly cannot be in regular session for more than 3 months or extraordinary session for more than 2 months a year. Gone are its powers to inspect ministries or demand documents. Habeus corpus is eliminated. The Supreme Court is stripped of constitutional review. A nine-member Constitutional Committee may examine the constitution and dissolve political parties. The Committee is composed of 3 members

selected by the President; 3 selected by the National Assembly and 3 by the Chief Justice. The President appoints the Chief Justice, as well as the 15 other Supreme Court justices.

Article 53 of the “Yushin Constitution” further expands the scope of emergency measures which may be declared by the President to be “in the whole range of the State affairs, including internal affairs, foreign affairs, national defense, economic, financial and judicial affairs”.

Such a constitutional sham is wholly anti-democratic, authoritarian in nature, and designed to perpetuate Park's power. The NCU unanimously elected Park to a 3rd term.

In August 1973, Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel and mysteriously reappeared in Seoul to face trumped up charges of election code violations. The *New York Times* reported that the Korean Government admitted its agents were involved in the abduction. Japanese police confirmed that 2 Korean officials in Japan helped in the operation. Thousands of students boycotted classes in the fall, and a widely-circulated manifesto by Seoul National University students demanded the reestablishment of a democratic system; a halt to the subjugation of the economy to Japan; the abolition of the KCIA along with an explanation of the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping incident; and a “soul-searching self-reexamination” by all politicians, journalists and intellectuals. On December 15th, 15 prominent religious and civic leaders adopted a declaration calling for revision of the “Yushin Constitution”. The following week, a group of 30 civic and religious leaders began a campaign to collect 1 million signatures on a petition to Park to reinstitute a democratic constitution.

Japanese news sources reported that 400,000 signatures had been collected when, on January 8th, 1974, Park announced 2 emergency measures. Emergency Measure No. 1 made it illegal, with up to 15 years imprisonment, to petition for revision or repeal of the Constitution. Emergency Measure No. 2 established military tribunals for violators, provided for unlimited detention periods and house arrest and prohibited the press from reporting violations of the Measures or any opposition to the Constitution. The military tribunals were also given power to preside over matters “not provided for in the Emergency Measures”.

In April, Park declared a new Emergency Measure (No. 4) which made it a crime punishable by death or not less than 15 years imprisonment for any student “who engages in any political activity; defames the action of the Education Minister in either expelling a student, dissolving an organization or abolishing a school to which violators of the measure may belong; refused to attend classes or exams without justification; or communicates with or is a member of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students or any related organization”. Under this threatened death penalty for cutting classes, an estimated 4,000 people were arrested within 2 weeks. Trials held last summer resulted in death sentences for 14 persons (later commuted to life imprisonment for 5 persons), life imprisonment for 15 persons, and 15-20 years for 26 others, including 2 Japanese journalists.

With demonstrations continuing unabated, Park held another referendum, on February 12th with 3 weeks' notice. The choice on the ballot was, “I support the major policies of the President” or “I oppose the major policies of the President.” The use of “President” rather than “Government” shows Park's dictatorial attitude. Debate and opposition was forbidden, and no explanations of the President's major policies were offered. The Government strenuously advertised for support of the referendum. Despite warnings, religious, political leaders and much of the press actively attacked the referendum's validity. The *Dong A Ilbo* newspaper, which is fighting for its survival against a Government-sponsored cutoff of commercial advertising, was the most outspoken. The news-

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paper's subsidiary, Dong A Radio, was jammed when it broadcast part of an antireferendum press conference held by the New Democratic Party. In Seoul's main Catholic cathedral, several thousand people, including former Presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, conducted an opposition prayer service at traditional Ash Wednesday observances.

Park expected that the vote in the cities would be against his policies, so he cleverly scheduled the referendum for February 12th, the day after the Lunar New Year, when millions of people go home to the countryside to pay their respects to their elders and ancestors. He declared the referendum a national holiday so that there would be a 2-day national holiday. Religious and political opposition leaders called for a boycott of the referendum. Only 60% of the eligible voters turned out in Seoul. The result in Seoul was a 58% "Yes" vote and a surprising 40% "No" vote. Only 35% of the potential voters gave Park approval. Nationwide, an 80% turnout resulted in a 73% "Yes" vote and a 25% "No" vote. The 25% "No" vote is an impressive figure when one takes into account the Government tabulation of votes; the pro-advertising campaign by the Government; and the potential danger people face in voting "No."

Two days after the referendum, Park announced a "stay of the term" for all political prisoners except "Communists and Communist sympathizers". Among those freed were the poet Kim Chi Ha, who immediately called for the Government to step down; Professor Kim Dong Gil, who said he would be "ready to return to this prison for continuing my struggle for democracy"; Roman Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Soun (Daniel Chi); and Presbyterian minister Park Hyong Kyu. This is a victory for the democratic forces of South Korea and will stimulate continued efforts to reestablish democracy in South Korea—without the dictatorship of Chung Hee Park.

**HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS UNDER PARK'S REGIME.** Park has labelled all dissenters to his autocratic rule as Communists and Communist sympathizers. The mass protests, large dissenting referendum vote and international protest has restrained Park from dealing with the opposition as he would like. An International Committee to Save Kim Chi Ha collected 17,000 signatures in a few weeks; Koreans living in the U.S. and Germany have made their views known to the Park regime.

The KCIA has been the chief instrument of repression. Torture has been widely reported among political prisoners and was evident from the appearance of some and the testimony of relatives and lawyers of others. Amnesty International sent a New York City lawyer, William J. Butler to investigate the situation in the summer of 1974. He reported that "each of the defendants (charged under Emergency Measure No. 4) have indicated to their relatives and to their lawyers that their confessions were extracted from them by force and torture". Prisoners recently released by Park have testified to being tortured in the Korean press.

Park keeps a tight lid on slum dwellers and workers. Protestant ministers involved in community organizing and social action in Seoul's mammoth slums have been constantly harassed. When one shanty town humbly asked the city for compensation in being forced to move once again—for the construction of a Japanese-financed subway—the Government responded by arresting the organizers, torturing them and ignoring the request. The chief organizer was taken by Government agents from a hospital at which he was recovering. He has not been heard from since. Rev. Cho Hwa Soun was arrested and confined in solitary for reading the Sermon on the Mount to a group of workers on a picnic and saying that a just person in today's society would be in jail for 15 years. The KCIA's pressure on Seoul's Urban Industrial Mission brought a wry comment from one minister: "(Our

Bible study course is actually the most dangerous (more than labor education classes), for we teach the lesson that everyone is equal in the sight of God, and once the workers get that idea, they suddenly become conscious of how they have been treated by management. The police tell me that we are preaching Communist ideas, about exploitation of the workers. It doesn't do any good to explain the Bible to them".

One example of the international protest to Park's policies was the actions of 5 U.S. marines at Iwakuni Marine Base in Japan. They wrote a letter to former Sen. Fulbright last summer asking for hearings on cutting U.S. aid to Park's regime. The Marine Corps tried to court martial them, but failed. The "Iwakuni Five" were prosecuted under a Marine Corps order prohibiting distribution of literature and petitions without prior command approval. The marines said they were showing people a letter and not distributing a petition. Obviously, the marines had to deal with their own repressive system as well. At their hearings in September, Japanese and American activists testified how the U.S. military supports Park. The "Iwakuni Five" were largely exonerated: 3 were found not guilty; one had a bad conduct discharge claim dropped, and the fifth got a 2 month hard labor sentence with a recommendation that brig time be suspended and a fine of \$400. The military judge wasn't interested in the constitutionality of the Marine Corps order, so the marines arranged to have a civil suit against it filed in Washington, D.C.

**THE "PROVOCATIONS" FROM NORTH KOREA.** There are strong indications that most, if not all, of North Korean "provocations" against South Korea in the past decade have been staged by Park. External threat is a convenient excuse for domestic repression. What Park fears, as a *New York Times* editorial pointed out 3 years ago, is detente.

Yong Lee Wun, former South Korean Navy Chief of Staff, declared at a press conference in Tokyo last January 14th that "Every alleged threatening act by the North, whether charged by Syngman Rhee or Park Chung Hee, was without exception a provocative act by the forces of South Korea". In the "Western Sea" incident, 2 South Korean "fishing" boats were sunk on February 15, 1972. Several of the crew members were not fishermen and did not live in the fishing village from where the boats sailed; the boats were wooden with a maximum speed of 3 mph—expendable and provokable. Large demonstrations were expected on March 1st. A U.S. official in Washington said, "According to our intelligence, North Korea did not initiate any belligerent acts towards the South during the month of February. Specifically, we have no proof that any gunboats opened fire on any South Korean vessel on February 15th. In the "Eastern Sea" incident, a South Korean police boat was sunk 6 miles north of the DMZ. The vessel was not protecting fishing boats, as claimed.

The 'assassination attempt' on August 15th 1974, is also of suspicious origin. There is great doubt whether Mun actually shot Mrs. Park. Said Admiral Lee, "the shot that killed Mrs. Park was not fired by Mun Se Kwang, the young man recently executed for the crime . . . the fatal wound could not have been caused by a shot from the front—where Mun was". The murder of Mrs. Park was politically expedient for her husband: she had been opposed to the brutality of the KCIA and had spoken up several times; the murder covered up the Government's ridiculous assertion the day before that it had not been able to solve the Kim Dae Jung abduction case and was halting investigation of it; and the event was used to demand that the Japanese Government control and crack down on anti-Park Koreans in Japan. Mun was a Korean living in Japan—one of Japan's largest ethnic minorities (600,000).

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Park also used his wife's murder as a device to channel anti-Japanese sentiment, thinking it would lessen anti-Park sentiment.

The Korean Government sponsored demonstrations in August and September of 1974 against Japan. At one such event, demonstrators cut off their fingers as a symbol of Japan's responsibility for Mrs. Park's murder. *Newsweek* revealed that these men were demonstrators paid so much per finger. The demonstrators were spearheaded by government associations—veterans, professional anti-communists and private business workers mobilized at Government order. The demonstrators were paid 500 won a day to shout slogans and march around Seoul. Those who didn't show were fired. The handbands and signs used in the "spontaneous" demonstrations were collected by officials after each demonstration and used again the next day. The Government announced the names of the organizations and number of demonstrators each morning before the demonstrations got underway.

A week before President Ford visited South Korea, a tunnel was "discovered" in the DMZ. Tunnels are of no great military concern and the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that "sources say the tunnel was discovered by a South Korean army patrol in June, but that the Government decided to wait for a better time to announce it". What better time to show a tunnel and "legitimize" continued U.S. troop and military aid presence?

The announcement of the sinking of a "50 ton North Korean spy boat" on the same day as the release of political prisoners falls into the same suspicious category of composing external threats to justify domestic repression.

The South Korean army is losing faith in Generalissimo Park. Last fall, 28 junior officers wrote a critical letter to a *Newsweek* correspondent, which was printed in the magazine without their names. At one army base there was a riot when military police were called to break up a political meeting. The South Korean Marine Corps was disbanded in October 1973 and integrated with the Navy when a coup d'état plan was uncovered. An army lieutenant anonymously advertised in *Dong A Ilbo* to support the paper in its struggle against Government suppression. Anti-aircraft batteries in Seoul are jittery about a South Korean Air Force attack on Park's Blue House. So far this year, they have shot down an American helicopter and shot up a Korean Air Lines passenger plane flying over Seoul.

## A SUBJUGATED ECONOMY

South Korea has been turned into an "export platform" for the U.S. and Japan. There are 3 export processing zones where the tax giveaways to foreign corporations are as huge as the workers' wages are tiny. The tax provisions include a 5-year corporate, property and property tax acquisition exemption; a 50% reduction of these taxes for the 3 following years; unlimited repatriation of profits and dividends; a custom duty and commodity tax exemption on imported goods for foreign investment; and personal income tax exemption of foreign workers.

South Korea's tax giveaways are almost matched by U.S. tax provisions designed to promote overseas expansion of U.S. corporations.

Wages are among the lowest in the world. Starting wages for clothing workers are \$.10 an hour before deductions. The industry's average hourly rate is double that figure. Unemployment is estimated at a quarter of the population—and is worse among men than women. Strikes in foreign-owned



plants are forbidden and the Government can compel arbitration. The Government keeps tight control on the labor movement. KCIA agents are stationed openly in every union office and agents attend election meetings to dictate the results. In 1973 the Government broke up the annual meeting of the Korean Federation of Trade Unions (the only union confederation in the country) when a majority of delegates voted to oust the Government-appointed president. According to Government figures, consumer prices have risen 28% in the past year (1973-74). Local businessmen suspect the real rate was much higher, closer to the 43% jump in the commodity price index.

South Korea's economic development is very unhealthy. In 1973, it imported almost \$1 billion more than it exported, despite a phenomenal manufacturing export growth rate. Japan is the largest investor in South Korea with \$468 million in direct investments, followed by the U.S. with \$185 million (July, 1974 A.I.D. figures). U.S. investments are in oil refineries, chemicals, electronic components and automotive industries. More than 1/2 of all U.S. clothing imports now come from South Korea.

U.S. multinational corporations have terminated hundreds of thousands of blue collar manufacturing jobs in the U.S. over the past 10 years and moved them to low wage and tax havens like South Korea.

The U.S. Commerce Department rates South Korea as a "favorable investment climate" and notes that U.S. investment is "encouraged". Foreign Minister Kim Ding Jo explained to a visiting U.S. trade group headed by former Treasury Secretary David Kennedy that "North Korea is militant and provocative against us" . . . but "it is nevertheless safe enough" for foreign investment. Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil was quite explicit when he said that the emergency measures were necessary because they assure "stability and economic pro-

—continued



gress". One American businessman told a U.S. Senate staff committee member visiting Korea that the KCIA was "very business-oriented".

Of South Korea's total \$4.3 billion in foreign capital investment in 1973, 53% was in commercial loans, 37% in public loans and only 10% in direct foreign investment. The U.S. and Japan are the major creditors. The U.S. has provided \$12 billion in aid since the Korean War, split equally between military and economic purposes. The PL480 program, by importing millions of tons of grains each year, has helped the Government drive farmers off the land and swell the pool of low cost labor for export industries. In 1962, South Korea imported only 6% of its food; a decade later the figure was 32%. In 1973, \$400 million in foodstuffs was imported; the Government expects to import at least \$463 million worth of food for the current year. "Aid" has resulted in massive

debts; at the end of 1971, there was an outstanding debt of \$2.6 billion. The U.S. Export-Import Bank has been an eager financier for Korean industries buying American goods. The Overseas Private Insurance Program has insured many U.S. investments in the country, as has the Agency for International Development (AID), both parts of the State Department.

"Multilateral aid" institutions such as the 3 affiliate banks of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have largely financed the infrastructure of South Korea's misshapen economic development. The 3 affiliate banks of the World Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association) have loaned a total of \$444 million. The IBRD made 4 loans to South Korea in the past year: \$47 million for highways; \$25 million for

—continued

## THE LARGEST U.S. INVESTORS IN SOUTH KOREA

Name of Company	Product	(in thousands)	
		Equity	Loans
GULF OIL CORPORATION	oil refinery, fertilizer	\$48,000	\$49,600
CALTEX (OVERSEAS) LTD.	oil refinery	2,750	49,000
SWIFT & COMPANY/SKELLY OIL	fertilizer	16,050	36,200
GM CORPORATION	autos	24,000	
DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY	polyethylene	6,150	9,932
FORD MOTOR COMPANY	engines	9,000	
MOTOROLA, INC.	electronics	1,000	7,000
AMERICAN AIRLINES	hotel	3,300	2,200
FAIRCHILD CAMERA	electronics	6,189	1,217
SPERRY RAND CORPORATION	computer service	3,503	
PFIZER CORPORATION	pharmaceuticals	1,400	1,500
BEATRICE FOODS COMPANY	food processing	1,656	
GREYHOUND LINES, INC.	bus service	1,084	693
CARGILL, INC.	food processing	300	1,830
CORNING GLASS WORKS	electronics	1,141	1,581
I.B.M. CORPORATION	computer service	1,767	600
BACK BAY ORIENT ENTERPRISES	lending money	100	1,250
CONTINENTAL CARBON COMPANY	carbon black	750	1,500
KOMY CORPORATION	electronics	1,400	1,278
AMERICAN MICROSYSTEMS	"	200	651
TANDY CORPORATION	"	1,000	
APPLIED MAGNETICS CORPORATION	"	66	600
RALSTON PURINA	poultry breeding	102	500
CELANESE CORPORATION	yarn sizing	214	
TESCO ELECTRONIC CORPORATION	electronics	100	
ROHM & HAAS	agricultural chem.	400	
TRW INC.	engine valves	300	
OAK INDUSTRIES	electronics	112	
MIDTEX INC.	computer parts	60	

sources: U.S. Department of State, Agency for International Development "Total foreign equity and loan funds authorized for projects approved under the foreign capital inducement law since 1962", 12/31/72 and American Embassy, Seoul, "Foreign investment: approvals decline in first half of 1974, but U.S. total higher, table 3, U.S. equity investment approved in 1973" and table 4, U.S. equity investment approved Jan-Jun 19

"utilities, services and recreational facilities" for a tourist development; \$13 million for a products processing plant designed to promote agricultural exports; and \$7 million for a seeds industry for paddy, barley, wheat, soybeans and potatoes. The Asian Development Bank, established in 1966, has loaned over \$152 million to South Korea principally for highways, tourist development and harbor construction.

At the same time as Park's shaky referendum was held, a shaky 100 bank consortium got up enough nerve to tentatively make a \$200 million loan to the Government. The consortium is led by First National City Bank of New York. Each bank is only loaning a small amount and is charging a steep interest rate. The banks believe that if Park does fall from power, his/her successor will still be amenable to the continued "industrial genocide" of South Korea's economy.

The U.S. still has 38,000 troops in Korea. Nuclear weapons are stored near the DMZ. U.S. Generals and Admirals have operational control over all South Korean armed forces. In the event of an outbreak of fighting, the U.S. would undoubtedly be involved. Military assistance last year was reduced to \$142 million. Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn) led the floor fight in Congress to reduce military and economic aid to South Korea because of its human rights violations. An additional \$20 million was set aside for use if the President determines that "substantial" human rights progress has been made, and the Congress is consulted.

The U.S. Foreign Aid act of 1973 contains a provision which says Congress does not want to give aid to those govern-

ments which "carry out political repression of their citizenry". An honest interpretation of this "sense of Congress" resolution would result in the elimination of aid to most of the "Free World". South Korea's 1975 military aid authorization is \$234 million.

As of September 30, 1973, there were 431 U.S. military officers in South Korea, attached to the Military Assistance Advisory Group. These officers sell arms and give advice. Between 1950-73, 31,530 South Koreans were trained in U.S. military aid programs. From 1963-73, 47 were trained at the International Police Academy, where their subjects included counterinsurgency, intelligence operations and interrogation techniques. 3 South Koreans attended the Los Fresnos Bomb School in Texas. Back in South Korea, A.I.D.'s Office of Public Safety, encharged with training local police, spent \$7.4 million from 1963-73. Thus, the weapons, techniques and training for domestic repression all come from the U.S.

According to the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, South Korea's armed forces totalled 635,000 men while North Korea's armed forces were 402,500 strong in 1973. Moreover, South Korea has received much larger amounts of aid than the North, and has had fighting experience in Vietnam for over 300,000 of its soldiers. The \$6 billion cost of post-Korean War military aid makes South Korea the second largest recipient of U.S. military aid in the world—after South Vietnam.

## Korean Prospect

INSECURE DICTATORS have a habit of demanding votes of confidence, as President Park of South Korea has just done. Apparently realizing that his repressive rule had provoked not only opposition at home but criticism abroad, he staged a referendum intended to diminish both. Voters were invited to say whether they favored his "major policies"—a choice between keeping him in power and chancing the unknown. While muzzling the opposition, the government propagandized its own point of view as "information." By government count—there was no other—President Park won three to one. South Korea remains safe for dictatorship.

Or does it? To give Mr. Park the best of it, he believes that in a time of economic crisis, continued North Korean hostility and international flux, South Korea needs his kind of strong rule. But a full quarter of those who voted the other day dared to disagree. And the brave political opposition in South Korea includes a large part of the most aware citizens of that country. They evidently believe South Korea needs a more democratic and flexible leadership to cope with its extraordinary difficulties.

Regrettably, the United States has put itself almost completely in President Park's corner. Visiting last fall, Mr. Ford did not indicate by word or gesture anything but full support for Mr. Park's personal leadership and for his national policies as well. Evoking the familiar images of Korean War solidarity and sacrifice, President Ford reaffirmed the American guarantee and American aid. To be sure, the Congress, reacting to Mr. Park's record on human rights, has trimmed and restricted military aid. But Mr. Ford has offset that suggestion of American disenchantment by de-

THE WASHINGTON POST Friday, Feb. 14, 1975

laying further withdrawals of American troops; 40,000 remain.

The fact is that there is a major gap in American policy toward Korea. Of those American allies involved in political/military disputes with their neighbors, South Korea is one of a very few that the administration is not actively urging to reach a peaceful settlement. The administration has a military policy but not a diplomatic policy. It offers token support to Seoul's "dialogue" with Pyongyang, but this dialogue, once considered a promising start toward peaceful coexistence of the Koreans, has become a sterile slanging match—in part because Washington provides Seoul with so little incentive to make it anything else. Aside from occasional signs that future Korean security must be worked out in an evolving post-Vietnam pattern of regional cooperation, the administration offers no ideas on how this is to come about. One alternative—American disengagement—is explored in the latest issue of Foreign Policy magazine by Selig S. Harrison.

It is not enough, then, to deplore the lengthening shadow which President Park is casting over democratic prospects in Korea. It is necessary to understand that his style of domestic rule is part and parcel of a rigid anti-Communist foreign policy that cannot be in the American interest to sustain indefinitely. Meanwhile, the possibility of war on the Korean peninsula—launched by either North or South—cannot be entirely ruled out. Here one should note that the 40,000 American troops in the South include the Army's nuclear-armed Fourth Missile Command. The administration should be encouraged to report what steps it is considering to ease tensions, promote a local settlement and diminish direct American involvement in that troubled part of the world.



## CRY OF THE PEOPLE AND OTHER POEMS

Kim Chi Ha

INTRODUCTION BY NICOLA GEIGER

4¾ x 7, 112 pages, perfectbound, paper

\$2.95, November 1974

(formerly titled: Five Bandits, Groundless Rumours)



Willy Brandt, Noam Chomsky, Dorothy Day, Louis Malle, Edwin Reischauer, Jean-Paul Sartre, and other leading intellectuals, artists and political thinkers rallied to the cause of Kim Chi Ha, Korean poet, who stood before a military tribunal for violating his country's National Security Law. Kim was arrested for organizing a strike against General Park and was sentenced to death (later the charge was changed to life imprisonment).

The Establishment has been trying to mute his voice. Yet his voice can't be silenced. The fierce verses are rallying cries for those of all nations fighting oppression. Often dissident poetry serves a function, but is not art. Kim Chi Ha's poetry is art and grows out of an artist's soul and speaks as art and salvation to the souls of all men in all times. On February 16, 1975, Kim was freed along with 200 other political prisoners.

Kim Chi Ha's fiery verse, as Nicola Geiger points out in her eloquent introduction to the book, is deeply rooted in centuries of the long and tragic history of the Korean people. His voice is the very soul of the Korean people and as such expresses anger, pride, and humor. Like all great voices there is a cosmic laughter and distance in his words. "My problem is nothing. I'm not a Solzhenitsyn, you know. I'm Kim Chi Ha. Not a tragic figure. A comic, like these bad teeth of mine. I feel happy in any situation. But the chance to write freely, that's what I hope for now."

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